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attack known as the *cuneus*. Livy⁴ states that 'the Celtiberi excel so much in this formation that, on whatever part they direct their attack, they cannot be withstood'.

One expedient used to break up such an attack was a cavalry charge upon the flank of the *cuneus*, but a more satisfactory counter-formation was the *forfex* or *forceps*—a V-shaped array which received the *cuneus* and overwhelmed it.

Spain became famous for the human material which it furnished to the Roman armies. Auxiliary bands served on many frontiers: Augustus used Spanish troopers as his bodyguard for a time, and Galba enrolled a native legion in his province. In connection with these two leaders and their relation to Spain, one may add that Hither Spain was the only interior province to receive a garrison under Augustus. Three legions were quartered in the Northwestern districts, where they remained until the year 69 A. D. It was then that Spain achieved fame as the first district to present a military candidate for the Imperial throne.

Not only were changes produced in Rome's military history by her contact with the Spanish people; her foreign policy also was affected. Long before a Roman soldier had set foot upon Spanish soil, ambassadors had negotiated a treaty with Hasdrubal which was meant to define the Northern limit of Carthaginian expansion. The meaning of that treaty and of a subsequent treaty with Saguntum has given rise to a great deal of controversy, but I believe that one point at least is beyond the controversial stage. The treaty was made with reference to land which was non-Roman. The Ebro River was not near Roman territory, not even near the territory of her ally Massilia. The treaty, therefore, was an extension of Rome's imperial authority wider than had ever been given to that authority before that time. Whether or not it set up a Roman sphere of influence north of the Ebro is beside the point to be made here, namely, that it did insist upon the right of Rome to interfere with the plans of a foreign state when those plans were displeasing to her.

In no other instance did the Spanish Question force Rome's Foreign Office to such diplomatic novelties. It is true that the Celtiberian war encouraged the Carthaginians in their attack upon Massinissa, and was listed among the causes for the Macedonian revolt and the slave rising in Sicily. These troubles were soon ended, but the policy of interference, commenced in 225, was as long-lived as it was pleasant—for the Romans.

Administration of extra-Italian territory was not altogether a new experience for the Romans when the Iberian land was added to their empire. Difficulties arose, however, because of the differences between Spain and the provinces previously annexed. Spain was large, it was far from Italy, and was lacking in well organized local administrative units. The Romans recognized the impossibility of transplanting the

Hellenistic system of administration to the new province and the great difficulty of administering the country as a unit. One of their first steps was to divide the conquered land into two provinces. This necessitated the addition of two new officials. Therefore the number of praetors was, in 197, increased to four. The distance from Italy had led to an exceptional tenure of office for the first military commanders. It had helped to fix the term of legionary service at six years. The unsuccessful attempts to lengthen the tenure of praetors in the Two Spains by the Lex Baebia and the change in date of entry to office from March 1 to January 1 were alike due to these distant and troublesome provinces. Problems of conquest were followed by problems of organization. In order to hold the ground gained so slowly and at such cost, the Romans used a system of military colonization previously employed only in Italy. Tarraco, described by Pliny as *Scipionum opus*, was probably the first extra-Italian *castrum stativum*. Italica was chosen by Scipio in 206 as a home for some of his veterans. Graccuris received veterans in 179, Corduba in 150. It is, in my opinion, a hopeless task, to seek to discover any but formal differences between some of these foundations and Narbo, or the attempts of Caius Gracchus. If it be stated that the Senate or the Assembly took the initiative in the latter cases while in the former they merely ratified a settlement made by a provincial official, I can cite Carteia, which, about 170, was established by the Senate, as a colonia. *Latinam eam coloniam esse libertinorumque appellari* is Livy's phrase⁵. As a final example of the policy of municipalizing the Two Spains, Valentia is peculiarly interesting. In 138 some of the warriors who had fought against Rome under Viriathus were taken from their hill country and settled near the coast. This recalls the deportation of 40,000 Ligurians some fifty years before, but I do not remember that any reward was given to them for fighting. The settlers of Valentia, however, received the rights of Roman citizenship. This is the opinion of Huebner, at any rate.

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(To be concluded)

REVIEW

Gaius Verres. An Historical Study. By Frank Hewitt Cowles. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, XX. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. (1917). Pp. III + 207. \$1.50.

The reader of this study gains a new conviction of the great importance of the Verrine Orations as a source for the historian, the jurist, and the archaeologist. In these orations we have an account by a contemporary of events abounding in interest. The story is told with a wealth of those intimate and picturesque touches which we miss in so many of our ancient sources. Yet, in spite of the large Ciceronian bibliography, Dr.

⁴40. 40.

⁵43. 3.

Cowles is the first investigator thoroughly to exploit this rich mine of information. The whole affair of the prosecution of Verres receives about three lines in Mommsen's *History of Rome*. There are more detailed treatments, of course, in Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*), and Holm (*Geschichte Siciliens*, Volume 3), and in some of the biographies of Cicero. But it was still possible for Dr. Cowles to write in his Preface

Up to the present time there has been no systematic attempt to present in complete form the sum total of the evidence covered by the Verrine indictment.

The present work is an instructive example of what can be accomplished by the intensive study of supposedly familiar documents relating to a much studied period.

Chapter I deals with Verres's career prior to his election to the city praetorship. The account shows that Verres did not suffer a progressive degeneration in character. He seems to afford an example of that rare thing, absolutely consistent villainy. At the beginning of his public career he betrays his party and his superiors, and appears in Cilicia and Asia Minor (as *legatus* and later *proquaestor* of Dolabella) in the rôle in which he afterwards won such distinction in Sicily—that of the ruthless plunderer and conscienceless rake. His tenure of the city praetorship (the subject of Chapter II) supplied him with useful practice in the art in which he later excelled, that of the conversion of judicial power into a source of gain.

Chapters III–VII treat the different aspects of the Sicilian administration of this singularly nefarious Roman. Dr. Cowles holds that it is impossible to detect any chronological sequence in Cicero's account (see page 27); so he adopts in his discussion the topical arrangement of the orator. Book 2 of the *Actio Secunda* is considered in Chapter III, Book 3 in Chapter IV, and so on. The titles given below are those assigned by the ancient grammarians to the different books, and by Dr. Cowles to his corresponding chapters. In Chapter III (*De Juris Dictione*) we see how Verres in his capacity as chief justice of the island enriched himself by blackmail and by the sale of decisions, edicts, and offices. This chapter and the following (*De Frumento*) should prove very useful to teachers of Roman history. They will find in Dr. Cowles's clear and explicit account a refreshing contrast to the distressing vagueness which characterizes many of the writers of our text-books on Roman history when they speak of the 'oppression of the provincials', 'financial exactions', 'tithes', 'farming the taxes', etc. Chapter V (*De Signis*) is concerned with Cicero's indictment of Verres as the robber of the artistic treasures of the Sicilians. In this particularly interesting chapter the author's treatment of the subject is new. He discusses the "relative merits of Cicero and Verres as connoisseurs" and decides the question in favor of Verres (125 ff.). He proves that Verres had a real appreciation of beautiful things; in fact Verres seems to have resembled some of our American 'captains of industry' in combining acquisitiveness with

aestheticism. Dr. Cowles refers elsewhere to Verres's love of art as one of his "few admirable traits" (111). It is doubtful whether it appeared as such to the Greek art collectors whom he robbed. They may well have prayed that Rome in future would send them more Philistine governors. After reviewing the various theories in regard to Cicero's appreciation of art, Dr. Cowles agrees (133) with Göhling, *De Cicerone Artis Aestimatore*, that

while the great orator undoubtedly possessed a knowledge of art and a certain capacity to appreciate it, neither his knowledge nor his critical faculties in this field were profound enough to enable him to qualify as an expert or a connoisseur, a distinction to which he made no serious pretension, and toward the attainment of which, no serious effort.

The chapter gives a lively impression of the aesthetic life of the times, and of the artistic wealth of even the minor cities of Sicily. Dr. Cowles condemns Book 5 (*De Suppliciis*) as irrelevant in an action *de repetundis*; that Cicero expected to be allowed to deliver such a speech is evidence, he thinks, of the laxity of Roman legal procedure (136). Book 5 forms however, as Dr. Cowles admits, a fitting climax of the whole accusation, and, it might be added, of an indictment that was directed not only at Verres but at the class and the system of which he was but an extreme representative. For it is in this book that Cicero paints Verres as the incompetent military commander, the indolent voluptuary, and the judicial murderer. The orator concludes the book with the terrible story of the crucifixion of Gavius, and the impassioned peroration in which he invokes the deities whom Verres had offended.

The chapter on this book merits particular attention, because, if we except a few touches in the *De Signis*, in none of the other Orations do we gain so clear a view of Verres's personality, a personality repulsive enough, but not without psychological interest. Cicero delights in portraying Verres as the "tired hedonist". No student of the period will be likely to forget the picture of the *propraetor* borne from place to place on his bed of roses (5. 27), or, as he reviews his disreputable fleet (148),

standing on the shore, clad in a purple pallium and in his long effeminate tunic, wearing the house sandals of the voluptuous dweller indoors, leaning on the arm of a servant girl.

Yet, when we review the orations as a whole, it is evident that the man whose speculations penetrated into every town and enterprise of importance, who supervised so many nefarious activities, and kept his pack of 'dogs', or henchmen, so well in hand, must have had a large fund of perverted energy.

The themes of the last chapter of the study are the trial, conviction, exile, and death of Verres. The chapter begins with a useful summary of the history of the *quaestio perpetua de pecuniis repetundis*, the court that was so long the battle ground of the popular and senatorial factions. Then follows the discussion of the preliminary action (concerning the choice of the prose-

cutor), and of the trial. After reading this discussion one perceives clearly the injustice of Mommsen's accusation that Cicero never presented the appearance of action except in regard to questions which 'had as a rule just reached their solution' (compare the grotesque characterization of Cicero in the last chapter of Mommsen's History). As a matter of fact, although the prosecution of Verres was inevitable, his conviction was by no means a foregone conclusion. The machinations of Verres's party under the leadership of his counsel, the great Hortensius, nearly succeeded on more than one occasion in robbing Cicero of victory. How he finally saved the day by sacrificing his original plan of presenting the case, and by confining himself to the production of his witnesses and the "short incisive discourse" (188) known as the *Actio Prima* (the only speech actually delivered), is well known. The reader, on finishing the chapter, is oppressed with a sense of the inadequacy of Verres's punishment, and is led to indulge in the pious hope that Pliny is telling the truth when he says (N.H. 34.6) that Verres perished in the proscription of the Second Triumvirate, because he refused to surrender his Corinthian vases to Antony. There is a careful analysis of the chronology of the trial in the Appendix of the book.

A few words may be added in regard to the study as a whole. The legal questions discussed are for the most part too complicated for brief report; but it should be said that the work has a special value for the student of Roman legal procedure, even though he be familiar with Greenidge's book, *The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*. Dr. Cowles writes in an impartial spirit, and is mindful of the fact stated by Holm, "Unsere einzige Quelle der Geschichte des Angeklagten sind die Reden des Anklägers". Due allowance is made for Cicero's exaggeration and oratorical camouflage; our author tries to be fair even to Verres. And he seems on the whole to be fair to Cicero. This might appear to be superfluous praise. But the bad tradition of Cicero-baiting which began with the ancients and has been perpetuated in modern times by certain famous German scholars still exerts some influence. Its effects can be detected in Holm's work, if I am not mistaken. Dr. Cowles has given careful consideration to the work of his predecessors; it may be remarked here that he condemns Ciccotti's study, *Il Processo di Verre*, as uncritical.

The text of Cicero used is naturally that of C. F. W. Müller; but textual questions are discussed where they have an important bearing on the facts, and Müller's readings are not always adopted.

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HUMANISTIC IMITATIONS OF LUCRETIIUS

In what he called "Introduction to Notes I", in his edition of Lucretius, 1.7, Munro spoke of the frequent imitations of the *De Rerum Natura* in the *Hymni Naturales* of Marullus (died in 1500). Marullus's

Hymn to Earth, in particular, "is full from beginning to end of Lucretian phraseology".

In a poem of Baptista Mantuanus, *Consolatio in Morte Collae Asculani* (written before 1483), there is a passage about early methods of warfare which seems to have been suggested by the fifth book of Lucretius (compare the second sentence below with Lucretius 5. 1308-1310):

Bella geri pugnis primo coepere sub aevo
(hinc oritur pugnae nomen), mox aspera cornus
fraxineaeque sudes aliaque ex arbore trunci
et rigidi silices atque usu proelia doctae
arma fuere ferae. Vastus canis ibat in hostes,
assuetus certare leo, depressa ferebant
cornua facturi semper duo vulnera tauri;
dente sues, curvis pugnabant unguibus ursi.
Inventus mox usus equi; frenata capistris
ora manu regere incoepit spumantia sessor, etc.

In the *Egloga Aepolus* of Ianus Anysius (c. 1504) the description of the shepherd's life,

quum pastores in gramine molli,
propter aquae rivum, sub ramis arboris altae
proiecti, genio indulgebant. . . .
praesertim cum tempestas ridebat, et anni
tempora pingebant lascivo gramina flore,

is borrowed from Lucretius 2.29-33.

The *De Animorum Immortalitate* of Aonio Paleario (published in 1536) borrows some striking Lucretian phrases, for example, *et extra procedit longe flammantia moenia mundi* (1.72-73); *tantum potuit suadere malorum* (1.96); *nunc me difficili pangentem carmina de re inter egestatem patrii sermonis* (1.139, 933); *exitio dabit una dies* (5.96).

The *De Principiis Rerum* of Scipione Capece was printed in 1546. Pietro Bembo said of it, "Lucretii stylum et elegantiam . . . redolet"; and Paolo Manuzio rated it almost as high as the *De Rerum Natura* itself.

In the same author's *De Vate Maximo* (perhaps composed c. 1535) the passage,

iuvat insuetos e fonte liquores
haurire intacto mollique ex arbore, tellus
quam tua fert sola, insignes decerpere ramos,
et mea fragranti praecingere tempora fronde,

recalls Lucretius 2.4-7; and the lines,

Heu stolidae mentes et luce carentia corda
humanae gentis, quantis vita aegra laborat
in tenebris, quali iactantur pectora motu,

may be compared with 2.89 ff.

Two other poems which should probably be mentioned here are the *Theopoeia* and the *De Immortalitate Animae* of Lodovico Parisetti (1502-1570). These are both written "alla maniera di Lucrezio" (F. Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, 109).

In Basilio Zanchi's eclogue *Meliseus* the lines,

complent nemora alta querelis
fluviorum vitulae immemores; non gramina possunt
derivare animum, tremuli non vocibus hoedi, etc.,

are borrowed from Lucretius 2.358-367.

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